

Message Text

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SUBJECT: GEN. GRIGORENKO'S VISIT TO DEPARTMENT

1. IN AN APRIL 7 VISIT TO THE DEPARTMENT, MAJ. GEN. PIOTR GRIGORENKO WITH MRS. GRIGORENKO AND PROF. YURI OLKHOVSKY (GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY) MET WITH ASST. SEC. DERIAN DEP. ASST. SEC. LUERS, HA AND SOVIET DESK OFFICERS. GRIGORENKO PAINTED A DARK PICTURE OF INCREASING REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION, BUT ASSERTED THAT THE DISSENT MOVEMENT WOULD WEATHER WHATEVER THE REGIME THREW AT IT. HE LINKED THE DISSIDENTS' EFFORTS TO IMPROVE SOVIET RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF SOVIET CITIZENS WITH LESSENING THE THREAT OF WAR. HE WAS STRONGLY CRITICAL OF THE OUTCOME OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE.

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2. GRIGORENKO DESCRIBED SOVIET SOCIETY AS MOVING GRADUALLY TOWARD A REVIVAL OF STALINISM. HE CITED AS EVIDENCE THE PERSONAL REHABILITATION OF STALIN (PUBLIC PHOTOS, REFERENCES IN SPEECHES) AND THE GENERAL TIGHTENING-UP OCCURRING AT ALL LEVELS IN SOVIET SOCIETY, NOT JUST IN REPRESSION OF DISSIDENTS. HE SAW LIMITS TO THIS PROCESS, IMPOSED BY BREZHNEV'S OWN INTEREST IN NOT SEEING A FULL-BLOWN REVIVAL OF STALINISM

BUT AT THE SAME TIME SAW BREZHNEV'S INFLUENCE AS DECLINING HE SAID KGB CHIEF, ANDROPOV ON TWO OCCASIONS (BEFORE THE HELSINKI CSCE AND AGAIN DURING THE BELGRADE REVIEW MEETING) HAD PRESSED THE POLITBURO FOR CONSENSUS ON ROUNDING UP ALL DISSIDENTS, AND BOTH TIMES HAD BEEN TOLD BY BREZHNEV TO BACK OFF AND DEAL WITH THEM ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS. GRIGORENKO SAW THIS AS EVIDENCE OF BOTH THE INFLUENCE OF EXPECTED WESTERN REACTION TO REPRESSION (BREZHNEV BEING MOST CONCERNED) AND THE STRONG IMPULSE IN THE REGIME TO CRACK DOWN, DEFINITELY.

3. GRIGORENKO ASSERTED REPEATEDLY THAT REGARDLESS OF GOVERNMENTAL ACTIONS TO THROTTLE THE DISSIDENTS THEY WOULD CONTINUE THEIR WORK. HE MENTIONED THE CASE OF THE KIEV CSCE MONITORS; IN SPITE OF THE CONVICTIONS OF RUDENKO, TIKHY, MARINOVICH AND MATUSEVICH (ALL HIT WITH MAXIMUM SENTENCES) THE KIEV GROUP, HE SAID, CONTINUES TO OPERATE, WITH NEW MEMBERS STILL JOINING. GRIGORENKO ALSO DESCRIBED THE MONITORS' EFFORTS TO "UNMASK" AND OPEN UP THE CLOSED SOCIETY OF THE SOVIET UNION AS CONDUCIVE TO WORLD PEACE. HE ARGUED STRENUOUSLY THAT CLOSED SOCIETIES PRESENTED A THREAT TO PEACE AND THAT THE MONITORS' EFFORTS IN THE SOVIET UNION WERE NOT JUST DIRECTED AT IMPROVING SOVIET INTERNAL BEHAVIOR BUT ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO IMPROVING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACE.

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4. GRIGORENKO SAW THE RESULTS OF THE BELGRADE CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE AS WHOLLY NEGATIVE. HE COMPARED THE OUTCOME OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WITH THAT OF THE SIXTH WORLD PSYCHIATRIC CONGRESS AT HONOLULU (AUGUST, 1977). THE HONOLULU MEETING HAD RESULTED IN A SPECIFIC "MORAL STATEMENT" CONDEMNING THE SOVIET UNION, HE SAID, WHILE THE BELGRADE MEETING HAD DISAPPOINTED HIM. MRS. DERIAN'S EXPLANATION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO MEETINGS AND OF WHAT THE USG HAD SEEN AS BOTH REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS AND ACTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS AT BELGRADE LEFT GRIGORENKO UNMOVED. HE REPEATED HIS VIEW THAT THE RESULTS OF BELGRADE WERE A SETBACK FOR THE WESTERN COUNTRIES.

5. GRIGORENKO SAID THAT THE DISSIDENTS KNEW OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY, BUT FELT WITH WE DID NOT GIVE THEM ENOUGH SUPPORT AND THAT THE POLICY WAS INCONSISTENT. WHEN ASKED FOR RECOMMENDATIONS GRIGORENKO PROMISED TO SUPPLY A LIST OF SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS WHICH HE FELT WOULD HELP IMPLEMENT THE USG'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. HE ALSO REQUESTED A FOLLOW UP MEETING TO DISCUSS IN GREATER DETAIL HIS OWN VIEWS OF THE SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. MS. DERIAN INVITED GRIGORENKO TO PAY A RETURN VISIT. VANCE

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